/879 cont./

437 others shellfish, and oftentimes there is such a flow that we must
439 stop and refuse....Many come with baskets, spears, shafts, fish-lines, eggs, shells, and curios of every imaginable kind,--stones, seals' teeth, birds' claws, feather headbands, clays, fungi, seeds, etc. -- wanting every description of goods in return" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 217; 1875).

437 One is justified in assuming that the Yamana greatly enjoy exchanging their articles and, indeed, for the sheer pleasure of having something in return as soon as possible. Bridges (ibid.) is also of the opinion that "the natives are always buying and selling, exchanging canoes and everything" /cited in English/. He also adds: "Their manner of doing so is very unsatisfactory" /cited in English/. True, to a certain extent everyone concerned with barter evaluates the articles to be exchanged, but they lack unequivocal measures of value, such as money, and hasty arbitrariness is unavoidable (392). This serious unpleasantness sometimes results from

> 392. On April 21, 1875, Bridges mentioned an incident "that occurred a few days ago. Palahlian, a man about thirty-eight, has three wives and three little children, and had a good canoe. Another man, a visitor here, not living with Palahlian, intends to give his canoe to Palahlian. Palahlian does not wish it, and hears of it indirectly, and is troubled what to give in return. He told me all about it. Palahlian at length is told that such and such a canoe is his, not, however, by the giver. Palahlian then seeks him, and gives him a large axe, well handled. Thus there is no mutual agreement previously made, and most of their transactions are performed in this loose manner" /cited in English/ (MM:IX, 216;1875).

an exchange.

● 426 Our Yamana practice lending less frequently, but sometimes they find themselves forced to resort to it because of need and unforeseen requirements. Almost always only articles that someone

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#26 urgently needs will be borrowed wherever they are to be found, no matter whether it is a canoe or an insignificant ornament for a dance. The original owner puts his property at the disposal of the person who asks him for it for only a certain time. The borrower must, therefore, return the borrowed article to its owner at the end of the period agreed upon. If, in an exceptional case, the owner /980/ cannot be asked for the desired object, the borrower trusts that he will consent; in other words, he tacitly assumes that he will agree and afterwards explains what he has done.

Nowadays the Yamana obtain some European goods which, to a great extent, they leave behind in their little houses in Puerto Mejillones while they are on trips that last several months. I repeatedly saw one or another of them temporarily use an article from a neighboring house and later put it back. When I questioned him, his answer usually was: "The owner agrees to lend it, but I must return what I have borrowed!" It is not customary among the Yamana to admonish a person to return something he has borrowed; the owner waits patiently until the person remembers his duty. If anyone who has borrowed something should lose or damage it, he himself provides for an adequate substitute. The Yamana also did not fail to return the things they borrowed from the missionaries (393).

393. Bridges (MM:IX, 217;1875) says briefly: "Many come begging; many to borrow this thing and that thing, then afterwards to return the article borrowed" /cited in English/.

Their language has terms for borrowing and lending, as well as for the return of what was lent. BD:346 gives mána, "to lend," manáku, "to borrow" /cited in English/. Making a fine distinction, BD:96 also mentions úmetakánata, "to take without asking, to take during the absence of the owner" /cited in English/. Other expressions also show that lawful conditions for lending are clear and familiar to our Fuegians (394).

394. Here is an example of how punctilious they are about returning things that have been lent to them. Stirling gave an iron axe to a certain Tweenoi, with which he was to cut firewood for

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426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 93;1872).

431 577 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (395). We shall not speak here of this habit.

395. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from [574] far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The man offers finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the woman primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings,